A striking difference between the Dorobo and Nandi systems is that whereas Nandi may not marry any person in the clan, the Dorobo were insistent that a man might marry his father's sister's daughter's daughter, the girl whom he calls *mwenkor*, a person definitely in the clan. This type of marriage does not seem to occur now, but did in the past. Marriage with a wife's sister is considered objectionable.

Behaviour patterns may be summed up in a statement made by a Dorobo that "a man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we are all on terms of friendliness and 'chest bon.'" Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with respect to the father's brother. Between a man and members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed; but elders must always be shown respect. Where the claims of relatives are concerned, the amount of contact is important, for even a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen cannot expect and will not receive as much respect as one who lives nearby and is well known. On a husband's part, there should be complete avoidance of his wife's mother, though this may be relaxed by degrees as he gets older; conversation with the wife's father should be limited to greetings.

Pre-marital Sex-life

Owing to the small number of Dorobo and the consequent shortage of women for wives, men have little in the way of pre-marital sex-life; and if a man does manage to acquire a lover, he often marries her.

Bridewealth

This varies according to circumstances, and Dorobo statements about it are conflicting. In 1927 it was said to consist of large quantities of honey-wine and of monkey-skin caps; but in 1930 the standard was one cow (with calf if still suckling), one ox, and four goats. The number of goats varied in the recorded cases from two to six, and in one case the cattle amounted to four cows. A man who gives his father-in-law gourds of honey-wine and a fur cap or two, does marriage is more of a drain on a man's resources than formerly.

Betrothal

A man chooses his wife himself, and arranges the preliminaries with the girl's father during two visits at which he gives him gourds of honey. After the second visit the father calls the clan council together and publicly gives his consent to the marriage.

Marriage

The marriage ceremonies are conducted by an elder known for the time as *poiton*, who brings the bride to her future husband's home, where the guests are already assembled feasting. The girl enters the hut in which the ceremony is to take place, and in the presence of witnesses the *poiton* gives her to the male, saying, *Kaipenete ninte*, "you now belong to this man." He then binds some ochred grass on the man's right wrist, and an old woman binds some of the same on the girl's right wrist. They are now married. The *poiton* then sets up an erection of ochred grass called *tendo* which is smeared over with cow-dung; for the wife has to touch down and stand upon. After this, the pair are left alone, and the marriage is consummated. Next day the *tendo* is trodden into the floor and plastered over with cow-dung, for it must not be seen. The pair are then shaved, by the *poiton*, also by the old women, and the hair is buried in cow-dung under an erection of sticks called *kwonion*, which is set up in great secrecy by the *poiton*. It is essential

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

881 them complete adult members of the horde, and no male could get a wife if he was uncircumcised; but it is possible for an uninitiated girl to get married, though few in fact are married without being circumcised.

2. Pre-marital sex-life

836 [885] Having attained manhood through circumcision, the Dorobo is free, subject to the restrictions inevitably imposed by a small population, to enter into legitimate sex-life. But unmarried men often have to go without a great deal of sexual experience before they marry, and some in fact never [589] marry at all because of the shortage of women. Even in the old days few girls were available, and there were only married women with whom they could not consort unless prepared to be shot by injured husbands if found out. This state of affairs has led to some men living alone and unmarried, 589 helped in their household tasks by women of the settlement. Some even did everything for themselves. The shortage of women, and the shyness of the Dorobo has resulted in a definite habit sufficiently in evidence to justify the application of a special term, for which I suggest the word *monosis*. And it is to be noted that the Dorobo have accepted the condition of *monosis* as something quite natural, whereas by many other peoples the unmarried state in a grown man is considered unnatural.

836 Young Dorobo to whom life without love does not appeal therefore wander about a good deal, going to places where they know there are girls, or women with whom they can have surreptitious affairs, such women often being the wives of age-mates, for although this is not openly allowed, a [837] woman will sometimes, when her husband is away, oblige one of his age-mates and say nothing about it. In favourable circumstances, however, when there are girls available, unmarried circumcised men build small huts called *sikiriaat* close to their fathers' huts, where they may sleep with uncircumcised girls, each man choosing a girl and associating with her till she is married. A Dorobo, unlike the Nandi, often marries his premarital [824] lover. Uncircumcised boys caught by the men playing with girls who are sexually mature are beaten, for love affairs are the privilege of manhood.

3. Marriage

584 Dorobo generally marry women of an age fairly near their own, and do not by preference marry women very much younger than themselves.

●584 A man chooses his wife for himself, and himself makes the preliminary arrangements. After making his choice, he takes the first step, by "going the journey" (*wendi keito*), to the hut of the girl's parents, or if they are dead, of a responsible relative, and hands over a large bag of honey, saying, "I want your daughter", to which the father answers, "Very well, take her presently". This ready acquiescence is due to the fact that the father already knows what is going on, for the suitor has been making enquiries about the girl, and such things always reach the ears of those concerned. Later

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

on, the suitor goes again to the girl's father with another bag of honey, and makes his request again. After a short time, perhaps two or three weeks, the father calls the clan together, and tells the suitor to attend. To the assembled council, the father says, "Here is my daughter, and here is the man who wants her to be his wife", thereby giving publicly his consent.

Next, the bride-payment is settled. This is not absolutely fixed, but varies slightly according to circumstances. Statements about its nature and amount in the old days are somewhat conflicting. In 1927 I was told it consisted chiefly of honeywine in fairly large quantities, and of monkey-skin caps, a statement probably true of the very old days when few of the forestdwellers had any live stock at all. But since those days, the introduction of even a small amount of live stock has changed the nature of bride-payment. People said in 1939 that in the old days (*keny*) a man had to provide four oxen for slaughtering at the marriage feast as well, but I could find no instance of this. In 1939, the standard bride-payment was one cow, with its calf if still sucking, one ox, and four goats, subject to slight variation according to the circumstances of the father in law; other amounts that I recorded were: 1 cow, 1 ox, 6 goats; 1 cow, 1 ox, 2 goats; 2 cows, 6 goats; 4 oxen and 2 goats. As well as the stock, a man gives his father in law honey wine and one or more fur caps, thus combining the old bride-payment with the new, and making the acquisition of a wife more of a drain on a man's wealth than it used to be.

Payment of the bride cattle need not be made before the marriage ceremony, but the first instalment should be handed over within a few months, and the rest at such intervals as may be agreed upon. If the husband dies before completing payment, his brother takes the widow and completes the payment; in such cases it is not necessary for the pair to go through the marriage ceremony, for the formal acceptance of responsibility by the brother before the clan council legalizes the status of any children she may bear him. If the husband has no brothers, the procedure depends on whether the woman has borne a child or not. If she has not, she returns to her father, and the animals already paid are handed back to the husband's people, and she is free to marry anyone she pleases; if she has had a child, she stays with her husband's group, and some member of the family (who this is, depends upon what men are available) takes charge of her and the child, and completes payment of the bride cattle.

Having settled the matter of bride payment, the suitor has next to arrange for the marriage ceremony. He gets an old man, of any clan, with whom he is on terms of fairly close friendship, to act as master of the ceremonies. This old man is called *Pa-tum* [*] by the bridegroom and *Pa-musi* by the bride. His first job is to collect the friends and classmen of the pair. They gather round the hut where the ceremony is to take place: this is in the settlement of the suitor's father. On the chosen day, the bride

[*] *Pa-tum* is used also in connexion with circumcision, which is called *Tum*. Though the Nandi word *tum* means primarily „circumcision" (cf. *Lu-tumo*, „razor"), in Dorobo it seems to have acquired the meaning of „ceremony".

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Social Organization.—The Tribe.—The Wanderobo are very few in number, and are divided among three sections, each of which has its own habitat as follows (according to the Chief, who was my informant on this point):— 631 618

Section.	Habitat.	Approximate Numbers.
Kokuoro	Kokuoga	40
Ulugum	Maumugum	60
Luteren	Luturiu	40

Each section lives in a single village of its own, similar in structure to that already described. The sections are not totemic, but they are exogamous, and descent is in the male line. The tribe has but one chief, who lives at Kokuoga (north of Kameon). Chieftainship is hereditary, and no woman is ever permitted to wield the powers of a chief. The Ulugum and the Luteren are each presided over by a headman (paterfamilias). 643 622

Birth.—When a child is born the mother is assisted by female relations. There are no official *deliveries*, as among the Lalwor. The Wanderobo allege that there are no special ceremonies connected with birth. Should a child come feet foremost into the world he will be lucky throughout life. It is stated that the afterbirth is thrown away with the rubbish. After weaning, a child occupies his father's hut, if a boy, and her mother's if a girl. 844 858

Betrothal and Marriage.—The rules for betrothal seem to be very similar to those usual among the Lalwor, except that the prospective husband goes to the girl's people direct, without representation in the first instance. The consent of the girl and of the parents on both sides is necessary, and the number of gifts is not specified as it is among the Lalwor. 584

Marriage is celebrated by a feast in which the people of the two sections to which the contracting parties belong take part. There is no dance peculiar to the marriage feast. After marriage a man lives for two days and nights in the hut of his betrothed, after which she returns with him to his own village, there to occupy a new hut already built for the newly married couple by the male partner, after he has consulted the wizard with regard to the luckiest time for erecting it. 585 591 342

Burial.—All the dead are buried without special ceremony.[1] There is no special burial ground, but graves are dug "out in the bush," well away from the village. 764

Age Classes.—These appear to be quite unknown. 561

Crime and Punishment.—The chief offence is adultery. This, however, is a private affair, and is dealt with privately, for it is not a sin against the community. A woman who is guilty in respect of this is cast out by her husband, who seeks the offending man with a view to slaying him. Murder is, however, a tribal affair, for which the punishment is death. The Lalwor practice in this respect is not followed. 684 682

[1] This statement was subsequently contradicted, in so far as it was stated that the wizard attends at all burials.

/239 cont./

IV.

000 Marital relations. -- Polygyny. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Conversion of the young men to the state of the married. -- Bride price. -- Forcing the consent of the father of the bride. -- Exchange of wives. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Entering into marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

595 The marital relations also offer little that is new. Polygyny exists only to a limited extent; most of the people are too poor to acquire and support more than one wife; only a few have two wives, and if a man has three of them it is a rarity. Betrothal in earliest childhood seem to be more frequent here than among the Masai, but no more binding and without legal consequences. As a rule after circumcision the youth is betrothed to a girl eight to ten years old, after his father has proposed for him to her parents. As among the Masai, the /240/ betrothed persons live apart and may not even see each other. The bridegroom lives with a girl in the one camp, and in the other, the bride with another youth. If the bride becomes pregnant before the wedding, dissolution of the betrothal does not always take place, as among the Masai, but rather the one who made her pregnant must reimburse the bridegroom by the payment of a head of cattle.

584 171 836 848 684

561 582 574 Here, just as among the Masai, the young men of an age class together decide upon their entering the standing of the married, and their fellow campmates confirm this intention by a feast corresponding to the ol geted l ol hŋ, in which friends and neighbors participate. They are served game and honey beer, the latter of which, however, the marriage candidates may not yet drink. They like to set the feast for the day after a successful elephant hunt, so that the guests can feast heartily on meat.

273 224

583 439 Before marriage can be entered into, the bride price is to be paid. The bridegroom usually gives the father of the bride, even before her circumcision, five pots of honey and five beehives, and, soon after her circumcision, half of a slain female elephant with the tusk that belongs to it; furthermore, two head of cattle, which

/240 cont./

583 [439] are bought from the Masai for ivory, and finally half of the meat of a slain female head of game approximately the size of a zebra. The mother of the bride and each of her brothers receive from the bridegroom a beehive apiece. Instead of the beehives the parents-in-law in some regions, especially where the Wandorobo live in close contact [601] with the Masai, receive iron wire. After receiving the gifts, the bridegroom and father-in-law reciprocally call each other ba-geteñ, bridegroom and mother-in-law ba-ger, bridegroom and the brothers of the bride ba-suben, according to ancient Masai custom.

583 587 For beauties no higher price is paid. For a childless widow the usual price is paid, but only after the birth of the first child and after her father has returned to the heirs of her deceased husband the price received for her before her first marriage. For a widow who gave birth to girls only, no bride price is paid; instead, however, 583 the heir of her deceased husband keeps her daughters. Likewise nothing is paid for a woman driven out by her husband. If the bridegroom dies before the marriage, his brother takes the bride. [584] If the bride dies before the marriage or if the betrothed persons dissolve the betrothal, the portion of the bride price already paid is returned. A bridegroom who is too poor to be able to pay the full price serves the father-in-law for a few months as hunter for the remainder owed.

584 If the father of the girl has stubbornly opposed the courtship, he is finally forced to consent by means of a divine judgment. The lover stealthily creeps into the hut of the old man and ties a [584] rope of grass around the wooden honey pot. The father is said /241/ to give his consent regularly then, since otherwise the punishment [583] of God would kill him. In place of this custom, it also happens [171] that the lover secretly takes the girl away, or the latter -- as among the Masai -- flees to him without her parents' knowledge.

837 Wife exchange occurs, but legal marriage does not arise from it. The woman does not remain with the other man for longer than a half to a whole year. If she feels pregnant before this time, she returns to her husband.

582 171 Among the Asá the same marriage obstacles hold as among the Masai, but the great distances between the individual tiny camps